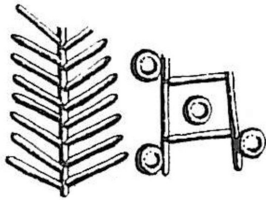


INTRODUCTION

Children as Archaeological Enigma



Güner Coşkunsu

The history of childhood is a nightmare from which we have only recently begun to awaken.

—Lloyd De Mause, *The History of Childhood*

The notions of children and childhood are seriously underresearched subjects in archaeology. This is regrettable for several reasons, discussed below. This volume is a modest attempt to redress this imbalance.

I should admit that the theme of this book, children in the archaeological record, is not my specialty but a product of my long-lasting curiosity. My curiosity greatly increased during my PhD research. While my specific interest in the presence of ancient children in archaeological contexts goes back to my first field experience while in college, I became more conscious of these children during my PhD research while, firstly, observing potential knapping marks of children on flint artifacts and secondly, observing current-day rural children's activities and objects, which were sometimes found in a very similar form and context to those in archaeological excavations on which I have worked. Through my graduate course, "Children in Archaeological Context" (Advanced Archaeological Research, APY 736 COS), and the preparation of the Third IEMA Visiting Scholar Spring Conference ("Children as Archaeological Enigma: Are Children Visible or Invisible in the Archaeological Record?"), as well as the preparation of this subsequent volume during and after my postdoctoral fellowship at the Institute for European and Mediterranean Archaeology (IEMA) at SUNY Buffalo, the subject became of great interest to me. Since then I have delved further into this essential subject in order to explore it more deeply and to contribute to a better understanding of the development

of childhood from an archaeological perspective. I hope that this volume will open new vistas to archaeologists who have not thought about the children of the past.

Interest in the archaeology of children and childhood is very recent and, for several reasons that will be discussed later, moves forward slowly despite continuing research by some archaeologists (all women!), many of whom are contributors to this volume. These include Kathryn Kamp, Jane Eva Baxter, Joanna Sofaer, and Traci Ardren. These researchers are following in the footsteps of seminal work by Jenny Moore and Eleanor C. Scott in *Invisible People and Processes: Writing Gender and Childhood into European Archaeology*, which appeared in 1997. This, in turn, was followed by Scott's *The Archaeology of Infancy and Infant Death* two years later, Joanna R. Sofaer Derevenski's *Children and Material Culture* in 2000, Jane Eva Baxter's *The Archaeology of Childhood* in 2005, Traci Ardren and Scott Hutson's *The Social Experience of Childhood in Ancient Mesoamerica* in 2006, and by the IEMA Conference organized by me in 2010 and the present volume. The Society for the Study of Childhood in the Past (SSCIP) and this multidisciplinary society's journal, *The Journal of Childhood in the Past*, are certainly worthy of mention in this overview for their effort to promote the study of childhood and children in the past through conferences, lectures, and publications since the late 2000s under the editorial direction of Eileen Murphy and Sally Crawford.

Save for a few early pioneers such as Andrew T. Chamberlain, this newly emerged interest has now started to capture widespread attention among male colleagues, most notably including professors Frank Hole, David Soren, and Jack Meacham, and Paul Bahn, Scott Hutson, and Kyle Sommerville (all in this volume). Until a decade ago, children were almost completely missing from many archaeological discourses despite their various important, active roles in households, workshops, temples, and in various other economic activities, and despite the fact that given the relatively low average lifespan of adults in ancient societies children must have represented a larger demographic component of those societies than they do in the modern world. Yet, children are still largely ignored, not only by archaeologists but also in many cases by ethnographers, historians, social scientists in general, and even scholars in feminist studies (Ardren 2006; Baxter 2005, 2006, 2008; Kamp 2001; Sofaer Derevenski 1997, 2000a, 2000b; in addition to their chapters in this volume).

Despite the importance of studies of children and childhood in antiquity, few studies have been dedicated to children in archaeology (e.g., Ardren and Hutson 2006; Baxter 2005; Crawford 2010; Crawford and Shepherd 2007; Kamp 2002; Moore and Scott 1997). Seeking to help remedy this intellectual gap, in 2009 I organized an interdisciplinary colloquium on this still largely enigmatic subject in order to better understand it, disseminate pertinent available data, and discuss current methodological and theoretical approaches relevant to the subject. Additionally, an important goal of the colloquium was to discover alternative methodologies and theories pertinent to studies of children and childhood in antiquity by promoting intellectual discussion between archaeologists and scholars from varied pertinent disciplines not fully represented in earlier conferences (e.g., developmental psychology, genetics, cognitive studies). To this end, the conference was planned as an open academic platform where both the speakers and the audience could

have an opportunity to meet the diverse group of scholars from different disciplines who work on comparable subjects and who would have much to learn from one another in terms of new research strategies and possible new collaborations, resulting in the present volume. Its main goal is to advance research on the archaeology of children and advance our understanding of the evolution of childhood through time.

A BRIEF OVERVIEW

One of the most important questions in the emerging field of the archaeology of children and childhood is the definition of “childhood.” The notion of childhood in both prehistoric and early historical times is full of controversy. Despite seminal work on childhood conducted from a historical perspective by Philippe Ariès (1962) and Lloyd De Mause (1976), and from an ethnographic perspective by Margaret Mead (1928), a lack of attention to children as agents still generally characterizes much of the work that humanists and social scientists have done on ancient societies. While the reasons for this are varied, I would argue that the subject of the evolution of childhood in antiquity is too complex to be fully understood from a single perspective, due to its time-, history-, region-, culture-, and memory-situated nature. Only with an interdisciplinary approach can we get close to understanding it.

By its very nature, archaeology is a dynamic field and its interests have been dramatically broadened in the last decade by new archaeometric methods and interdisciplinary approaches. Anthropological archaeology in particular has started to focus on the overlapping human agencies that created the archaeological material remains that we study, and much well-deserved attention has been paid to significant issues that before were only marginally studied, such as social identities, ethnicity, gender, and nationalism. Despite these promising developments, however, archaeologists still pay insufficient attention to the role of children, who were active agents in past societies. Only a small group of archaeologists have cared about multivocality in ancient times, or about the marginalized social identities of women and children who are often “invisible” in archaeological publications. Prominent among these scholars are archaeologists and anthropologists studying gender issues who noted the small role of women and children in archaeological interpretations almost twenty years ago (Ardren 2008; Brumfiel and Robin 2008; Conkey and Spector 1984; Conkey and Gero 1991). Their work inspired new theoretical and methodological approaches for considering social identities, including those of children. Recently, for instance, Kathryn Kamp challenges us with questions such as, “Where have all the children gone?” and, “Why are children invisible in the eyes of archaeologists?” (Kamp 2001:1). As a consequence, in the last decade the study of children in archaeology has become an increasingly important avenue used to reconstruct ancient societies with all their diverse agents. This is evidenced most clearly in the work of Kathryn Kamp, Jane Eva Baxter, Joanna Sofaer, Traci Ardren, Grete Lillehammer, Andrew Chamberlain, and, to a smaller degree, in the work of a number of other archaeologists as well (e.g., Baxter 2005, 2006, 2008; Benthall 1992; Bluebond-Langner and Korbin 2007; Cohen and Rutter 2007; Gottlieb 200; Kamp 2001; Lillehammer 1989, 2000, 2008, 2010;

Lorentz 2003; Moore and Scott 1997; Panter-Brick 1998; Park 1998; Scott 1999; Sofaer Derevenski 1994, 1997, 2000a, 2000b; Wileman 2005).

The main focus of study for such archaeologists has involved the consideration of children as social identities and cultural agents and defining the nature of childhood in antiquity (Högberg 2008). Recently, the point of view in the study of childhood has been broadened further by a number of studies focusing on social, cultural, political, economic, behavioral, cognitive, symbolic, religious, artistic, sexual, genetic, medical, and technological issues (e.g., see Baxter 2005; Högberg 2008; Sofaer Derevenski 2000a, 2000b; and all authors in this volume for specific case studies from different regions). Happily, the recent interest in children in antiquity is not limited to archaeology but is mirrored in related disciplines such as: classics and art history, as seen in the publications of Susan Landgon, David Soren, Jeannine Diddle Uzzi (all in this volume), as well as Christian Laes (2011), Ian Jenkins (1980), Stephanie Lynn Budin (2001), and Ada Cohen and Jeremy Rutter (2007); and anthropology (including medical and ethnographic studies), as seen in Nurit Bird-David's studies on the notion of childhood in indigenous studies on hunter-gatherer Nayaka people in India (Bird-David 2005 and in this volume), and the research of Berry S. Hewlett (2005), Robert A. Levine (2007), and Jonathan Benthall (1992). Anthropological archaeology owes thanks to these scholarly pioneers who inspired new theoretical and methodological approaches for considering the social identities of children and women in archaeological contexts. Thus, the previously overlooked women and children of prehistory are now the subject of increasing archaeological debate and research. However, as I mentioned before, the interest in childhood for archaeology has still not been fully established and the process of recognizing children in the archeological record is still in its infancy.

WHY ARE CHILDREN MISSING IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS?

Archeologists have been neglecting the role of children in antiquity for several probable reasons (see also Ardren, Baxter, Kamp, Sofaer, all in this volume, for a detailed discussion): (1) the supposed intangible nature of childhood in the archaeological record and the a priori assumption that children lack easily recognizable archaeological correlates (yet few archaeologists have made the attempt!); (2) conceptualizations that see children as socioeconomically unimportant; (3) acceptance of a universal/stereotypical view of childhood; (4) gender biases; (5) cultural biases; and (6) the lack of substantial interdisciplinary collaborations on the subject.

Whatever the real reason(s), the field needs to move beyond the present situation by "materializing" children in antiquity, and several of the chapters in this volume discuss how we can address this lacuna (e.g., Baxter, Bahn, Hutson, Kamp, Langdon, Moses). This "materialization" of children in the archaeological record will go far in answering questions about how the concept of childhood has evolved in human societies through time, while setting directions for more detailed archaeological and interdisciplinary studies of children in the future.

WHY DO ARCHAEOLOGISTS NEED TO CARE ABOUT ANCIENT CHILDREN?

As Chamberlain (1997) noted, there is no question that children existed in ancient times and are represented in the archeological record, irrespective of whether we archeologists are careful or competent enough to recognize them. Thus, there is an urgent need to bring archaeologists and scholars from several disciplines to both clarify the problem and establish current definitions about notions of children and childhood. We also need to develop theoretical and methodological approaches to analyze the archeological record in order to explore and understand the role of children in the formation, reproduction, and maintenance of past cultures.

From historical and ethnographic accounts it is known that children are significant actors in social, economic, symbolic, artistic, and political arenas, and they are often very important in the families and societies they lived in, some of which are covered in this volume. Children are visible in a vast array of archaeological remains regardless of whether archaeologists think about them and see them. Past children are evidenced by fingerprints on ceramics and other clay objects as well as on cave walls, as Kathryn Kamp, Paul Bahn, and Scott Hutson demonstrate clearly in this volume (see also Barbour 1975, Kamp et al. 1999; Kamp 2002, Králík and Nejman 2007, Králík, Urbanová, and Hložek 2008; Livingstone 2007, and Van Gelder and Sharpe 2008 for more case studies from North America, Mesoamerica, the Near East and Europe; and Acree 1999, and Åström and Eriksson 1980 for the application of methodology and biases). Children's fossilized behaviors are discernible in the making of stone tools (Coşkunsu 2007; Högberg 2008; Stout 2002) and bead production (Kenoyer et al. 1991; Mackay 1937; Roux and Blasco 2000); as well as in the making of playthings and toys, as Jane Eva Baxter, Kathryn Kamp, Sharon Moses, Scott Hutson, and Kyle Somerville all highlight in their contributions to this volume (see also Baxter 2005; Casey and Burruss 2010; Kohut 2011; Park 1998; Sillar 1994; Somerville and Barton 2012). Children are also recognizable in data from mortuary, skeletal, DNA, and isotope analyses, presented in this volume by Susan Langdon, David Soren, Eva Rosenstock, and Keri Brown (see also Beck and Sievert 2005; Bentley 2006; Djurić et al. 2011; Finlay 200; Georgiadis 2011; Halcrow and Tayles 2008, 2010; Hamilton 2007; Ingvarsson-Sundström 2003; Lewis 2007; Lorentz 2003; Mays 1997; Oxenham et al. 2008; Perry 2005; Redfern et al. 2011). The behaviors of children can also be detected in architectural features, the spatial distribution and arrangement of domestic material and activities, and microstratigraphy, as Joanna Sofaer, Sharon Moses, and Scott Hutson elaborate in case studies in this volume (see also Hutson 2006; Sofaer 2006). Children are also visible in artistic, iconographic, and textual records of the past, as discussed in the chapters by Paul Bahn, Susan Langdon, and Jeannine Diddle Uzzi (see also Budin 2011; Oppenheim 1967). Finally, information about children can also be inferred from figurines, which can be products of art, magic rituals, or playthings, as argued by Kathryn Kamp, Scott Hutson, Peter Biehl, and Sharon Moses in this volume, who interpret figurines as the material records of children in the context of social identity, representations of body, production, learning, socialization, play, and ritual. Pursuing

the psychological reflections of past children and childhoods in the archaeological record seems difficult, at least for now, since archaeologists and anthropologists are usually not well grounded in developmental psychology. However, in an intriguing chapter in this volume Jack Meacham approaches children's development, learning, and social identities through the use of four metaphors (essence, organism, machine, and historical context) that offer much promise for the development of new research questions, theories, and methodologies for archaeologists.

Children's involvement in ceramic, stone tool, and bead production, art (both as subjects in artwork and producers of "art"), sacrifice as victims, hunting, and the fact that they sometimes had special status have been documented in the archaeological literature of both the Old and New Worlds. Culture is not static and is not created only by adults of one gender. Instead, it is constructed by individuals of different ages, gender, class, ethnicity, and occupation. In other words, children are active agents of culture wherever it is present, and therefore children and childhood must be an integral part of archaeological research.

From my own field experience I know well that the role of children varies greatly between urban centers and rural areas. For instance, while the majority of modern urban children do not need to worry about domestic and nondomestic tasks, those who live in rural areas have to take care of their younger siblings, haul water, fish, hunt, spin, tend to small livestock, mine, gather fuel, prepare food, maintain fire, etc. on a daily basis (see Chamberlain 1997 for a discussion of the decrease in the amount of labor and the creation of more leisure time that industrialization and technology have created in Western notions of childhood). Hence, doubtlessly, prehistoric children of nonelite families were also responsible for such crucial tasks (Ardren 2006).

Lillehammer (2000) has argued that children probably took on a greater number of roles when societies shifted from foraging to agriculture, since most likely women had more work to do, which in turn resulted in increased work demand for small children (see Claassen 2002 for a study of early agricultural societies of North America using bioarchaeological data). Algaze (2008) and Yener (2000) emphasized child labor and children's serious involvement in production of ancient Mesopotamia's two major exports, textiles and metal, in early urban economy. One source for the economic importance of children in early urban economies are Mesopotamian texts, which make it clear that children provided a big chunk of the very substantial labor involved in textile production (Algaze 2008). According to Algaze, without children the export economy of Mesopotamia would have been insignificant. Additionally, children provide a big chunk of the labor in mining (e.g., small shafts etc.) and in production of metals, the biggest economic export of the periphery. See also Yener (2000) for the domestication of metals and the ethnographic documentation of how mines are operated in traditional preindustrial societies. In short, without a doubt, child labor was crucial to that trade if the largest part of ancient Near Eastern exchange was textiles from the south and metals from the north.

When adults had a heavy burden of labor outside the domestic sphere, they might not have been able to take good care of their children (Ardren 2006; Vogt 1970). See Bird-David (2005; and in this volume) for more on the notion of childhood from a

non-Western point of view, children-parent/adult relations, and children's self-education and maintenance in the Nayaka hunter-gatherer group in South India, which is a situation quite unfamiliar to Western notions of childhood and motherhood identities. Additionally, Somerville presents the case of middle-class Victorian childhood and identities (in this volume). Meacham's and Sofaer's arguments in this volume, respectively, show similarities in the dynamics involved in children's learning and children's reactions toward instructions they are given, but they depict a different picture from Bird-David's arguments for hunting and gathering societies (see Hole for his comments on Meacham's chapter; in this volume). Going back to Lillehammer's point, she argued for the possibility of children assuming a caretaking role for other children while adults shifted to other labor in ancient societies, particularly those societies in which life expectancy was relatively low (Lillehammer 2000:23). In short, like adults, children play important roles in their societies and they help shape, transmit, and maintain their culture, as well as their own lives. Without acknowledging the agency of ancient children in the creation of culture, archaeologists' interpretations of data and reconstructions of past societies must necessarily be incomplete. It is time, therefore, to bring ancient children back into archaeological research. Children were important in the past and at times they were as fundamental to ancient cultures as their mothers, fathers, grandparents, and rulers. We need only think of the reign of some child rulers who had a supreme, political, or spiritual power in history of the world, such as Thutmosis III and Tutankhamen of ancient Egypt, the seven-year-old Norwegian king Magnus Erlingsson, and three-year-old Chinese emperor Henry Pu Yi. Child rulers did not appear only in highly stratified civilization but also in socially less complex civilizations and cultures, such as in nomadic tribes with the son of the leader of a tribe or chief of a village. Wherever children were present, the specifics of their role and influence were no doubt dependent on the religious, political, and social values and practices of the societies they formed a part of. Environmental, biological, and cognitive factors may also be added to this list. However, we should not fall into the trap of thinking that biology and skeletal remains fully capture the importance of past children. This is an important point made by Sofaer both in an earlier publication (2006) and in this volume, and is a point reflected in ongoing debates (mostly in Britain) between socially oriented archaeologists and bioarchaeologists (e.g., Halcrow and Tayles 2008; Hamilton 2007). According to some bioarchaeologists, skeletons cannot provide any information about the social and cultural aspects of childhood and children (see Lally and Ardren 2008; Sofaer 2006 and in this volume for two strong criticisms of this view). Like some scholars, (e.g., Halcrow and Tayles 2008), I favor a cross-disciplinary perspective that bridges both approaches and that, when applicable, brings in other pertinent perspectives to the study of ancient children.

It follows from the preceding that understanding the role that children played in ancient societies, both as active and passive agents, is crucial if we are to reconstruct those societies as a whole. However, we should not create stereotypes based on modern Western conditions in our analysis of the data (Ardren, Bird-David, and Kamp in this volume; Kamp 2001) and we should be aware of cross-cultural studies that alert us about the nonuniversal perceptions of childhood and social identities, as Bird-David's cutting-edge

chapter demonstrates (see also Meacham's chapter for how psychological effects related to identity formation can be similar due to cognitive features and heredity, regardless of culture; see also Hole in this volume). By neglecting children in their reconstructions of ancient societies, archaeologists are unwittingly adopting a universal notion of childhood which is unwarranted on theoretical and evidentiary grounds.

Additionally, some current archaeological literature draws potentially wrong conclusions about past societies due to the use of inapplicable methodological and/or theoretical approaches. I strongly believe that the lack of attention to children in archaeological interpretations, the use of unclear definitions of notions of childhood, and the uncritical acceptance of a universal notion of childhood combine to cause a misleading or incomplete reconstruction of past societies (see Bird-David for concrete examples and a thorough discussion). The historian Ariès (1962) was surely correct when he argued that the concept of childhood is constructed both socioeconomically and culturally and that it differs across time and space (see also Ardren, Bird-David, Kamp, and Sofaer in this volume; Kamp 2001; and Sofaer Derevenski 2000 for similar arguments). Often, the age definition of life cycles employed by archaeologists is based on Western perceptions of children, rather than on concepts about the nature of childhood that existed in the past. It should be noted here that some of the most common conflicts among archaeologists regarding the definition of childhood and children in the material record derive from age determinations and terminology in the study of bioarcheology (Perry 2005). Since there is no consensus about these, there is a general tendency in our field to study children as incidental or irrelevant and to insist on seeing children as visible only through burial remains (Baxter, in this volume). There is a lack of harmony in applying different methodologies with interests in the social aspects versus the bioarchaeological aspects of children. Rotshchild (2002) warns us that we cannot expect to find childhood in every society and that the definition of what constitutes childhood is often constructed by Western notions of biological "realities." The definition of childhood is also not clear in religion; a range of symbolic meanings are adduced to childhood. The image of children is represented with a diversity of meanings, and it is full of metaphors. The notion of who is a child changes due to age, condition, lineage, or sources of imagery as well as an author's own point of view (Francis 2006:14, 283). The bottom line is that a universal view of childhood results in inadequate reconstructions of past societies and their cultures. Hence, the definition of childhood has to be discussed further by scholars, and more cross-cultural studies need to be done.

An example of biases in current research methodologies and theories in the archaeological study of childhood can be obtained from the mortuary record (i.e., skeleton and dental remains; grave goods; type and location of burial; etc.). The burial rates of children are highly dependent on the nature of preservation (commonly incomplete); the type of burial (single or multiple burials with parents; cremation or inhumation); whether or not child burials are incorporated into adult mortuary areas (spatial segregation); recovery techniques; data analyses; definition of age and sex by experts; and the level of experience of experts (Chamberlain 2000). Due to these factors, information about biometric, population, health, social status as well as the ethnic identity of children in mortuary contexts is often

explored incorrectly (Baxter 2005). Archaeologists often assume that special grave goods found in children's graves signal social ranking within a given society (Crawford 2000; Sofaer Derevenksi 1997). However, from ethnographical and historical documents it is known that health conditions and age at the time of death are not always related with socioeconomic conditions and social status/wealth. The notion of childhood plays an ideological and communicative role in the ancient Andean and Roman worlds. For instance, ancient Andean societies sometimes sacrificed children as part of rituals intended to communicate with saints and deities (Ardren 2011; Sillar 1994). Those selected for sacrifice were from the nonelite class and they were fed well before being sacrificed.

HOW DO WE RESCUE CHILDREN IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORDS?

The vital question to ask is not whether children are visible or invisible, but how archaeologists can correctly discern the activities, identities, and behavior of children in the archaeological record for a more accurate construction of ancient societies. I argue that we should accept the presence of children, as well as the fact that they played active roles in the past, in order to refine the problem, define the kinds of anthropological questions that can be addressed, establish methodologies for studying children archaeologically, and improve current studies on this subject. This can be done most productively through interdisciplinary exchanges, such as are reflected in both this volume and the conference that gave rise to it.

Perhaps we will never be able to fully reconstruct what childhood was really like in the past, but we can certainly bring abandoned children back into archaeological thinking and research and correct archaeologists' erroneous and gender-biased interpretations.

By its nature, the study of childhood thus stimulates an interdisciplinary dialogue. This is reflected in this volume, which brings together scholars who work on various aspects of this question with experience in different regions, diverse methodological and theoretical approaches, and evidence from sites spanning from the Paleolithic to the historical ages both in Old and New Worlds. What is most attractive about this volume is that it emphasizes linkages between anthropological archaeology, ethnography, and anthropological theory, as well as other disciplines in the social sciences, humanities, and natural sciences. I hope that the interdisciplinary nature of this work will result in further dialogue and widen the range of perspectives that can be applied to the study of childhood in the past. Each of the contributions in this volume expands the field of childhood studies and provides a better understanding of the various meanings of the notion of childhood and its social and cultural context. In addition, the contributions of new dating and laboratory techniques, which are also emphasized by some of the contributors to this volume, expand our comprehension of the subject. In this book we discuss the notion of childhood in the past and the importance of children in social, economic, cultural, psychological, symbolic, artistic, sexual, biological, biometric, and health-related contexts. The volume considers how the notion of childhood is expressed in artifacts and the material record and examines how it is described in the literary and historical sources of people from different regions and cultures.

I hope that the conference and its volume will broaden the perspective of many non-Western archaeologists in a positive way and enhance their appreciation of gender and childhood studies in archaeology, by being a timely addition to a current interest among archaeologists in reexamining our assumptions.

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

The articles (sixteen) and commentaries (two) in this volume are revised versions of papers initially presented at the Third Visiting Scholar Conference for the Institute for European and Mediterranean Archaeology (IEMA) of the University of Buffalo, entitled “Children as Archaeological Enigma: Are Children Visible or Invisible in the Archaeological Record?” The conference was held on April 24–25, 2010. It should be noted that three challenging papers by Patricia Wattenmaker, Karen Johnson, Trina Arpin, and one very promising poster presentation by Jessica Coone that were all presented at the conference are unfortunately lacking in the volume. Originally, nineteen papers, one poster, and four commentary speeches were delivered at the conference by scholars from the United States, Europe, and the Middle East. Having speakers and authors trained in different countries and cultures (some of them are even multicultural), provided a very productive dialogue and expanded our collective horizons. Fields represented at the conference included Mediterranean and European archaeology, bioarchaeology, geoarchaeology, physical anthropology, classics, art history, psychology, and genetics. This interdisciplinary approach to the study of ancient childhood and children presented opportunities to question issues, present new studies, highlight what is important, what is not and what type of techniques, theories, methods we need in order to elaborate a broader social and cultural perspective on the evolution of childhood across time and space.

The volume is structured into three main sections that includes more specific subjects and one commentary session:

1. Theorizing (In)Visibility, Legitimacy, and Biases in Archaeological Approaches to Children and Childhood
2. Interdisciplinary and Archaeological Approaches to Studying Children and Childhood in the Past
3. Case Studies in the Archaeology of Childhood.

These sections are followed by commentaries by Frank Hole and Traci Ardren. Steve Dyson and Mehmet Özdoğan also acted as discussants at the conference, but their work schedules prevented them from submitting written comments after the conference.

As a conclusion, I hope that this book will urge new research questions and will be followed by many new publications and conferences to approach a better understanding of the subject through new theories and methodologies. I hope that this book will provide a forum clarifying what the current problems are, and what possible research strategies and collaborations could be used to address those problems. Doubtless, we

are still at the very beginning of a long journey to bring back the unintentionally lost children of the past.

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